

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

Opportunity for Germany

By A. J. MUSTE
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DR. SOPER TELLS LABOUR MEETING:

"No Socialist policy without disarmament"

From Olwen Battersby

"SOME power has got to reverse this evil process, and take the initiative. Some power has got to say, 'we will disarm whatever anybody else does.' This is no crackbrained scheme, it is the only way out of an intolerable and impossible situation."

This was the message given by Dr. Donald Soper to a meeting of Labour Party delegates, organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship. The lecture hall of the Scarborough Public Library was packed for the occasion.

Dr. Soper explained that he was present as a Labour Party member, as a socialist, as a pacifist, but above all as one who believed that peace on earth was God's will, and therefore must come.

He subscribed to the fervour of this meeting, but nevertheless he left a vague sense of discomfort, as he did at all peace meetings. It was so easy to say no to the things that were wrong, so difficult to produce those positive plans which would alter the situation. He hoped that no one would go from the meeting without having said "Yes please" to something.

New plans

It was war itself, and not the use of any particular weapon which was the evil of our day; nevertheless it was a real and terrible fact that the hydrogen bomb had created a situation in which, war having started, there could be no second thoughts.

"If only that we may buy time to make up our better minds, to repent of our former actions, and to work out new plans for living together, I commend to you with all the fervour at my command to say no to this monster of immediacy, this last, most fearsome and cosmic of all weapons. Only so can we arrest the progress towards a third world war."

"We know that we cannot have guns and butter: there can be no socialist policy if arms are a part of the programme."

Dr. Soper concluded with an affirmation of his faith:

"I believe that the clear intention of God, who is our Father, can be seen underlying what we seek to plan, and that this policy will carry us forward if we ally ourselves with it. 'We are no lunatic fringe, we are the one group of people who know where we are going.'"

James Avery Joyce, in opening the meeting, said that the LPF was a group within the Party which was in the tradition of the Party.

"We believe in our Party. We are proud that at this time, under the leadership of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan, there has just been concluded the most successful peace mission on which our party has ever been engaged."

We believe that this delegation may well prepare the way for a Labour Government with an entirely new foreign policy."

Ernest Fernyhough, MP, said that for nine years war clouds had darkened the sky; fear had stalked through the world. The man in the street could not understand: our enemies had become our allies, and our ex-allies had become our enemies. Something was wrong. We had to ascertain what was wrong, and how we could put it right.

"I do not believe that we shall get a peaceful world, unless we get a reasonable settlement in the Pacific—and unless some nations change their attitude towards China."

USA and China

Comparing the situation of America and China he continued:

"America was once a colony of Britain—in 1775 it decided it wanted independence. It went to war with Britain. It won its independence by force. Not until seven years later was the American victory for independence recognised."

The American situation was very nearly identical with that of China. Yet now America took the line that China could not be admitted to the United Nations because she gained her independence by force. At what date did this doctrine commence?

If we turned to more recent events, he continued, we found in 1936-37 General Franco overthrew the legitimate democratic government of his country by force. Yet today America had bases in that country. The American line against China was a fantastic one.

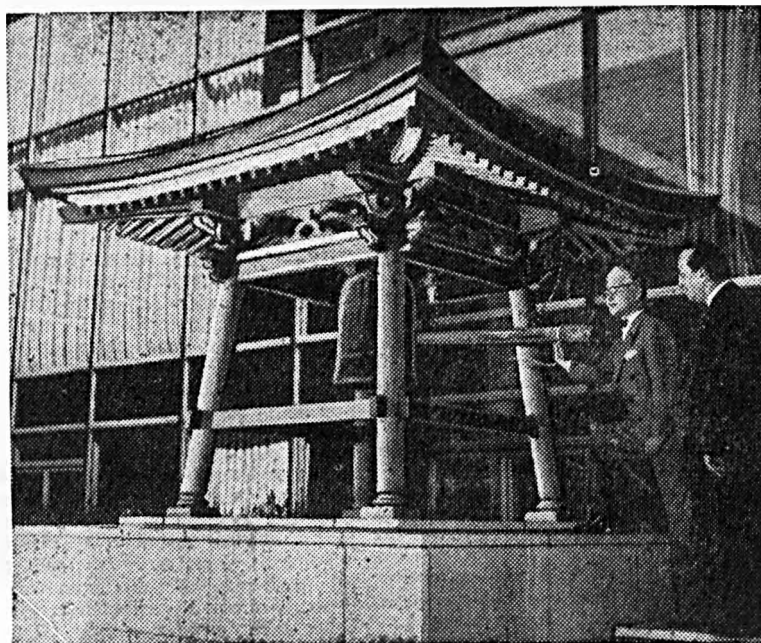
The struggle in the world today was a struggle of ideas, a battle for men's souls, and such a battle could never be won in the military field.

Two world wars had shaken Africa and Asia to their foundations. Millions used to poverty and disease were now on the march. Our problem was how best we could assist them.

For too long we had overestimated the military power of Communism and had underestimated the cause of Communism.

"For so long as we allow to Communists the privilege of pretending they are the only people interested in the downtrodden and the hungry, so long will this problem last."

"The battle against Communism must be won on the social and economic field. We must be prepared to make material sacrifices



Last week Aikichi Kuboyama, the first man to be killed by a hydrogen bomb, died in a Japanese hospital. In this picture, Japan's permanent observer to the United Nations, Ambassador Renzo Sawada, strikes the Bell of Peace which was donated to UN in the name of the Japanese people. The bell was cast from bits of metal, coins and medals contributed by friends from sixty nations to the Japanese Association for the United Nations. Japan, as an ex-enemy country is still denied admission to UN.

as great as those forced upon us in World War II. How much better that we should make them now rather than during a war."

Victor Yates, MP, after recounting some of the many acts and protests made by members of the Labour Peace Fellowship in their search for peace, spoke with feeling of the evil aftermath of war.

"I am appalled at the fact that thousands of men are herded together three in a cell in our prisons at the present time. These men are the result of a mistaken policy. We condemn them to this because we are not prepared to divert any of the sum we are at present spending on war, to the task of rehabilitation."

"Schools which were on the black list in 1926 are still going strong."

"So long as we spend £1,640 million on armaments there can be no prospect of an advance in our social structure."

"Mr. Attlee has said recently that we have got to have something in our hands when we talk to other nations. If he means that we have got to have the hydrogen bomb in our hands then it is a complete illusion. You cannot get peace in that manner."

"Peace we shall attain only as we abolish fear and replace it by a new spirit of love for the whole of humanity."

In concluding the meeting, George Craddock, MP, said that as we had a national machine for the maintenance of law and order, so it was equally necessary that we had an international machine. We should recognise that the things on which we differed with other nations, were less numerous than those on which we agreed. Until we had found the means to resolve the differences between nations, economic and social development was extremely remote.

Colonial Meeting

"I AM a Colonial; I come from the Colonies; I am a human being. As you cherish freedom; so we cherish freedom. It is in the nature of things."

Joseph Murumbi, the opening speaker, set the key note with these words for a meeting organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom at Scarborough.

Other speakers were: Solly Sachs, General Secretary of the Garment Workers of South Africa expelled by the Malan Government; Claude Bourdet, Editor of L'Observateur; Clovis Maksoud of the Socialist Party of the Lebanon; Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP; Jenny Lee, MP; Fenner Brockway, MP.

About 400 people were present.

Quaker Race Relations Conference

SOME noble words of the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, were quoted at a national conference on race relations held for members of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London, last Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

"The old concepts of Empire," Dr. Nkrumah had said, "of conquest, domination and exploitation, are fast dying in an awakening world... There is a vast untapped reservoir of peace and good will towards Britain, would she but divest herself of the outmoded, moth-eaten trappings of two centuries ago... and give us a guiding hand in working out our own destinies..."

"We can create, out of the past, a glorious future, not in terms of war and military pomp, but in terms of social progress and of peace. For we repudiate war and violence."

"Our battles shall be against the old ideas that keep men trammelled in their own greed; against the crass stupidities that breed hatred, fear and inhumanity..."

"Purpose, endeavour and determination will create that brotherhood which Christ proclaimed two thousand years ago, and about which so much is said, but so little done."

The conference concentrated on problems of

"Emergent Africa." The sessions were under expert leadership, and in the lengthy discussions which followed the opening addresses there were frequent contributions from Friends who have lived close to the race problem in the colonies or in the Union of South Africa.

Many speakers stressed the terrible loneliness suffered by those who were trying to wade against the stream in a rigid colour-bar situation; and the conference gave a sympathetic hearing to the suggestion that Friends might take the initiative in forming an international fellowship of such people.

Speaking out of his personal experience of the Gold Coast, William G. Sewell said that paternalism on the part of the white man was now an outmoded attitude.

Still less appropriate was that inverted paternalism which tacitly assumed that Africans could do no wrong. The African distrusted the approach of the official, the anthropologist, and the business man, and often that of the missionary. He was, however, ready to listen to the educationist, for it was to education that he was looking as a means to the Africanisation of his society. As Friends they must work for the restoration of equal opportunity, for the restoration of self-respect, to the African.

Parallels

Thomas Hodgkin, the lecturer and writer on African affairs, and Roger Wilson concurred in stressing the parallels between the inter-racial situation in many parts of Africa today and the inter-class tensions in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

Mr. Hodgkin said that the struggle of the African to organise himself industrially and socially, and even the pattern of violence in Kenya and elsewhere, followed on paths trodden by industrial workers in this country a century ago. Roger Wilson said that the judgments which white people in Africa passed upon the African were closely similar to the judgments passed by the ruling classes of a century or less ago upon the "lower orders."

Indeed, "Victorianism" was very much alive in Africa, and not only in Africa, today.

Other speakers were Peter Abrahams, the African author, who offered a penetrating analysis of the tension and frustration to which educated Africans were subjected in a colour-bar situation; and Rita Hinden.

Rita Hinden urged Friends to press for the expenditure of one per cent. of Britain's national income on aid to the impoverished areas of the world. At present our contributions to this end, including the Colonial Development Welfare Fund and the Colombo Plan, were no more than £23 millions annually, or less than one-sixth of one per cent.

In a summing-up session Reginald Reynolds outlined ways of service and action for the ending of racial discrimination: firstly, ways of social service and welfare; secondly, schemes of inter-racial reconciliation and lastly, the call for dedicated people to go out as individuals to Africa, to work, to live and to suffer in situations of inter-racial maladjustment.

Not a Rolls Royce but...

BEN WILLETT, ex-ships' engineer, member of Peace News staff, has had four months back at sea in the engine room, but it has been a return with a purpose—to save enough money to purchase a Peace News van.

As Peace News activities have developed the need for transport of our own has become really urgent. Each week taxis have to be hired to deliver bulk supplies to wholesale newsagents, to carry our displays of pacifist publications to meetings, to deliver the trade orders for Endsleigh Cards.

To these routine needs could be added the opportunity for special propaganda work and a general extension of activities which a van of our own would make possible.

Ben Willett decided he could do something practical about this. Ships engineers, especially certificated first-class ones, receive an attractive stipend—and get their basic needs provided.

So four months below decks has produced £100 towards that long-needed vehicle.

Ben is due back at the end of this month. Now we're looking around for our van. Can any reader put us in touch with a utility van, in good running order, with economical petrol consumption, preferably a popular make?

We don't expect Ben's £100 to provide a Rolls Royce, but his splendid example may prompt someone to offer us a suitable vehicle.

Madame Pandit for U.K. Post



It was officially announced last week that Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (left), sister of the Prime Minister of India and late President of the United Nations General Assembly, has been appointed to the office of Indian High Commissioner in London.

★
She has been succeeded in the Presidency of UN by Dr. van Kleeffens of the Netherlands who was associated with the League of Nations from its earliest days.

Third Camp School

SINCE the beginning of World War II there had been two developments of major importance in the world, said Allen Skinner, Editor of Peace News, at Apperknowle, near Sheffield, last Saturday.

These were the creation of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the revolutionary awakening of Asia and Africa. Of these developments it was likely that the latter would prove the more important.

Allen Skinner was addressing a one-day school arranged by the Sheffield PPU.

He urged that political issues were coming to be presented as if there were only an inevitable choice between fellow-travelling with Communism and American capitalism. We had to develop an independent policy. This should be done by assisting in the liberation of the colonial and underdeveloped peoples from imperialism and poverty.

The way to do this was to release resources devoted to armaments so that they could be used for these purposes and thus develop a third movement in the world which would combine all the peoples who sought independence of the two power blocs.

Peace Film Show Tonight

THE first of what it is hoped may become a regular peace film shows has been arranged for today (Friday) at Hope House, Gt. Peter St. (Gt. Smith St.), London, S.W.1, at 7 p.m.

The programme will include an account of the work of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea, a colour film on world government and a film about Human Rights told in the form of a story.

The show is being organised by Peace News in association with the Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Prior to the show, Peace News' regular Friday sellers will collect copies of the paper from Harry Mister on the steps of St. Martin's, Trafalgar Square at 5.30 p.m.

Last week's selling effort was responsible for 42 copies being sold in central London in just over an hour.

Readers who can spare an hour are asked to contact Harry Mister at St. Martin's steps between 5.30 p.m. and 7 p.m.

PEACE NEWS

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October 1 1954

WHAT IS CO-EXISTENCE?

MOST people in this country, whatever their political party, have been nursing the hope that the Labour Party Delegation to China would return with reassuring news on the possibility of the two blocs keeping out of war.

It is an issue that touches every man and woman in the land very closely, for on the question whether there can be such reassurance or not turns the answer to the doubt whether there is any point in making plans for the future of their children.

We look to their words, therefore, on whether they have drawn the conclusion that there can be peaceful co-existence, with a good deal of eagerness.

Co-existence is one of the new words which the politicians and economists are rather prolific in coining nowadays, and as with many other of these words we have to look at it rather carefully, for it covers up as much as it reveals.

Up to World War II we felt no need for a special word to convey that in the periods during which nations were not at war they would not be fighting each other. We called that peace, with reservations. That is not sufficient nowadays, because it has ceased to be the case that when the nations are not fighting each other they can be described as being at peace. They are so obviously not at peace that we describe their condition as "cold war"; and when peaceful co-existence is discussed what is hoped for is the bringing to an end of this condition.

Now although we strongly urge that steps should be taken to find a basis for co-existence, it is an illusion to think that what the politicians have in mind as co-existence will put an end to the cold war. The cold war will remain with us permanently until the problem of war is conclusively solved, either by the destruction of our civilisation by World War III, or, as we hope, by the increasing acceptance by nations of a radically new approach to world problems which will include an adventurous disarmament and an equally adventurous application of the principles of brotherhood.

Cold war is the condition that obtains in the world in the periods between wars in an era when war preparation is on the basis of "total" warfare. Co-existence in such circumstances cannot mean more than an uneasy truce in the hope that it will provide a delaying period during which the ideological differences between the two blocs may work themselves out without resort to atomic arms, or in which some radically different conception of human relationships will present itself, which will provide a synthesis or a solvent of these two conflicting ideologies.



We have been prompted to make these comments by the curious use made of the term "co-existence" by Mr. Sam Watson, who was a member of the Labour Delegation to China. He says in an article in *The Observer* that the attitude of the Chinese leaders seemed to be:

"Co-existence in the field of trade—immediately; co-existence militarily and diplomatically—on terms; co-existence ideologically—never."

There is here a misleading attempt to extend the significance of the word "co-existence." If there is to be co-existence it will have to be accepted in the military and diplomatic sense (and the terms involved will require that it shall be equally accepted on both sides).

That there shall be a development of trading relationships does not necessarily follow (there can be co-existence without trade), although it is desirable that such trade should develop.

The reference to ideological co-existence has no place in the picture, however. It is the primary assumption of peaceful co-existence that the different ideologies shall be left to work themselves out without their adherents killing each other; and this means that in the course of time there will inevitably be ideological interpenetration.

Now although the political conceptions of the Russian and Chinese Communists are very largely repugnant to Mr. Watson—as they are to us—their analysis of the way economic trends work out in capitalist society is identical with that of many in Mr. Watson's Party up to World War II, and if Mr. Watson's colleagues were right in the past and the Communists are right today this means that "peaceful co-existence" will produce an economic situation that it will be much more difficult for the USA to face than for Russia.

This fact provides a substantial basis for Russian fears and we are doing no service to peaceful co-existence if we refuse to face it with them. Although we appreciate much in Mr. Watson's accounts of his travels, he is here displaying a peculiar blindness.

He is concerned, and rightly, at the hostility manifested by Communists for Social Democrats, and he recalls that old axiom of the Communists that they desire to support Social Democrats as a rope supports a man who is hanged. Here he says, however, that Social Democrats and America are on the same side, as if the ruthless and aggressive capitalism of the USA were an acceptable variant of the Social Democratic conception.

This is a dangerous misrepresentation of the true situation, and if "peaceful co-existence" is not to prove merely a different road to world catastrophe it is necessary that British Labour and European Social Democrats should recognise this fact and begin to formulate policies to meet it.

The UN Assembly

THE new session of UN has opened in Paris with two important decisions.

The steering committee has voted by nine votes to three, with America abstaining and against strong British protests, for the inclusion of the Cyprus issue on the agenda of the Assembly. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has given a solemn warning that the decision is bound to have very serious consequences for the relation of Britain to UN, and reliable sources say that Britain will boycott the debate in the political committee.

The Assembly has every right to hear the case for allowing Cyprus to decide its own future, and it will be unwise and childish for the British delegation to take no part in the discussions.

The other decision was made on the proposal of M. Vyshinsky for immediate recognition of the Peking Government as the lawful representative of China.

Mr. Cabot Lodge, the USA delegate, promptly introduced a resolution to postpone any decision for this session, and the British delegate agreed that it would be most unwise "to press to a vote an issue on which the Assembly was so deeply and evenly divided." That is in itself an admission of the growth of support for the claims of Peking, and indeed the American attitude indicates their belief that had a vote been taken they would have been on the losing side.

Britain preferred not to come out into the open, since while she did not want to oppose America her delegate could hardly have voted against the admission of Peking.

Domestic policy

But the issue cannot be avoided indefinitely and the admission of Peking can be regarded as a certainty. The main reason for the persistence of the American opposition is the effect on domestic policy rather than the international situation.

The administration would be committing political suicide if it seemed to acquiesce in the admission of the Peking Government before the impending elections. That is due to the fact that the anti-Communist propaganda has done its work only too well.

But it is to be hoped that the question will be settled early in 1955, for while it remains unresolved there can be no settlement in S.E. Asia.

The other cause for increasing tension there is the American policy over Formosa. Although there are rumours of a secret agreement between Eisenhower and Chiang to confine nationalist troops to Formosa, the President deliberately reversed the policy of the previous administration, when he "took the wraps off the seventh fleet." This he feels bound to stand by at any rate until the elections are over.

The result of this and the further encouragement of the nationalists, has been the continued bombardment of the mainland by Chiang. His attacks may be designed to frustrate any attempt to invade Formosa but it is obvious that any attempt on his part to invade the mainland would be disastrous to him.

The real purpose may be to provoke Peking to some retaliation which would enable Chiang to claim the intervention of America as he and some Americans would welcome.

Asian moves

THE arrival in Delhi of the Indonesian Prime Minister opens a series of diplomatic moves in Asia which will include visits of four of the Prime Ministers of the Colombo powers to China and Washington. This new diplomatic phase may have far-reaching consequences.

It is bound to strengthen the Arab-Asian bloc in UN and may result in an Asian-African conference.

We hope, too, that it will lead to a further consideration of the policy of constructive neutrality, and to fresh adherents to the movement for liberation through the Third Camp.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Broken families

IT is getting more and more difficult to enter or leave the United States at will.

There must be thousands of people in the US and in Europe who have become painfully aware of the timorous ruthlessness of American officialdom—timorous in relation to McCarran-McCarthy tendencies in the USA; ruthless to the unhappy applicant who wishes to enter or to come out of that land.

This ruthlessness does not necessarily manifest itself as a brusque refusal; it is much more likely to take the form of a suave procrastination which keeps the applicant for months in a condition of uncertainty and makes it impossible for him to make any reliable business or domestic arrangements.

In this area US officialdom would seem to have reached a particularly low level of ill-bred lack of consideration; but it must be borne in mind that the officials, as much as the applicants, are the victims of the pathological development of America's anti-Communism.

In September 1951 some Chinese students in America who were aboard a ship bound for Hong Kong were forced to land at Honolulu and abandon their homeward journey. Since that time Chinese students in the field of technical sciences have been forbidden to leave the USA.

They have made repeated but unavailing applications to leave. Some of them are married men separated from their wives and children, and in some cases this separation has lasted as long as seven years.

The US Government claims that they are being detained because their training has given them "classified" knowledge. As 120 of them are involved, this seems to be highly improbable, for the term "classified" is supposed to designate secret scientific information that would be useful to an enemy.

What is probable is that the training of these Chinese students will have been through courses that will have made them more useful in China than they otherwise would have been if they elect to go back to their own country.

We remember the wanton inhumanity of the Stalin Government in destroying by separation the marriages between Russian women and their English husbands. This attitude of the US Government is of the same character and should induce the same feeling of disgust in decent people.

H-bombs and conscription

THE H-bomb has made an essential difference and demands a new appraisal of foreign policy.

In this respect conscription must come under review, as both political parties have promised that it should.

The military arguments in favour of conscription are no longer valid and the moral arguments against it have been greatly enforced by the experience of our young conscripts.

But it is not sufficient to think in terms of shortening the period of conscription, altering the age of the call-up or giving the vote to conscripts at 18. Such proposals do not touch the fundamental fact that it is conscription itself which is wrong, and that it is a policy which no party professing to believe in freedom and democracy should tolerate for a moment in any form.

Has the Labour Party so completely forgotten Keir Hardie or ceased to

believe in his kind of socialism, that they no longer believe that conscription is the badge of slavery?

In all their claims to be the protagonists of freedom elsewhere have they overlooked the fact that conscription is the greatest inroad on the freedom of our own youngsters?

If they wish to recruit the younger generation into a strong virile Labour Youth Movement that will carry forward the cause of Socialism, they must free those youngsters from the shackles of conscription which denies the fundamental principles of international Socialism.

East German police

THE Government has issued a White Paper comparing the respective police forces in East and West Germany.

The present strength of the force in the Soviet Zone is given as between 80,000 and 90,000 para-military in training and equipment, armed with 1,300 tanks and self-propelled guns, 1,300 other guns, plus a sea police of 6,000 with 30 small minesweepers and patrol boats. The air force is 7,500 strong and trains on Soviet aircraft.

The civil police number 55,000 and a further 12,000 are employed on security duties and 25,000 as frontier guards.

The proportion of police to population is 1 to 100.

In West Germany the police are organised in two formations: a security force of over 10,000 equipped with pistols and rifles, machine guns and armoured cars, with a marine attachment of 700 with patrol boats; a mobile force of another 10,000 with similar equipment and the ordinary police numbering 90,000. The proportion there is 1 to 450.

Even if the figures given are accurate and comparable, no mention is made of the fact that the increase in the East German police force was justified by their Government on the grounds of the intention of the West to rearm West Germany, nor, of greater importance, that the Soviet proposals at the Berlin Conference included the proposal that, pending the restoration of sovereignty to an all-German government, the Four Occupying Powers should decide on the nature and size of the police force in each zone and have the right of inspection of both.

The disparity between the two forces is not an argument for the rearmament of West Germany. That can only provoke further rearmament in the Eastern Zone. But it is a strong reason for a further attempt to reach an agreement which would restrict the police force in either zone to the size and character compatible with strict police duties.

If Germany is to be told "not yet" the interval should be used to pursue plans for a general disarmament. National sovereignty would then no longer be equated with national armies and equality would be given to Germany not on the basis of armaments but of disarmament all round.

Austria's future

IN regard to Austria, the Soviet Union cannot be expected to forgo what advantage there is to her in having troops in Austria and lines of communications necessary to maintain them, so long as the future of Germany remains unsettled.

The Austrian Treaty depends on a German Treaty and the West are wrong in trying to make further talks on Germany dependant on a Soviet agreement in advance of the terms of the Austrian Treaty.

We see no reason to suppose that Russia would continue to create difficulties about Austria once they were assured that Germany was not going to be used as a base against her.

The Labour Party would hardly expect a successful conference if delegates had to agree in advance to all the proposals of the National Executive.

Opportunity for Germany

THE campaign leading up to the elections for Congress in November is getting under way. The principal issue will be whether the Eisenhower Administration has done a good job, whatever that may mean.

What it means to some is illustrated in a speech by Interior Secretary, Douglas McKay, who alleged that the Administration had made a successful transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy, and this "without resorting to any of the deadly Socialistic drugs that some of the left-wing medicine men have been calling for."

The UN Assembly convenes as I write and undoubtedly the first issue that will come up is the recurrent one of the admission of the Chinese People's Republic.

The US made a move to forestall what the NY Times calls "this Communist manoeuvre" by issuing to the press a day or so ago a catalogue of Chinese Communist breaches of the peace since 1950. It is expected that the usual procedural motion will carry to postpone consideration of the issue for the duration of the present Assembly!

There is, however, news of a very different kind in this morning's paper and it furnishes the text for the main body of this letter. In a speech in his home state of Vermont US Senator Ralph E. Flanders has recommended that East and West Germany be reunited as

a neutral nation with "neutrality guaranteed by both the Soviet Government and the Western powers."

Rearmament of West Germany he characterised as "at best an indirect and uncertain approach." (In view of recent events this qualifies as subtle understatement.)

Flanders, who keeps better abreast of opinion abroad than many of his colleagues, expressed the view that reunion was really "the heart-desire of the German people" and that they would willingly pay the price of neutrality and remaining disarmed for that boon.



The most significant and impressive quotation from the Flanders address is the following sentence: "The more one thinks about it the more dubious becomes the massive rearmament approach to German unification except at the price of initiating or at least engaging in World War III."

It would be hazardous to suppose that these statements of Senator Flanders herald a drastic turn in US foreign policy. He is not one of the inner circle of policy-makers in the Eisenhower Administration and he does not come from a populous and wealthy state.

However, he is not a negligible figure. He is a successful business man and a Republican. He is probably sure of his seat in the Senate

as long as he wants it. Many Peace News readers will recall that Flanders, whose background is Puritan, has been one of McCarthy's most persistent and stinging critics.

It looks as though his campaign to bring about a Senatorial vote of censure on McCarthy is on the point of success and this tends to increase his stature in the public eye.

In any case, a Republican speech radically questioning German rearmament and suggesting German neutrality is a gauge of the impact on American thinking of the series of blows which fell during the past summer on the head of Mr. Dulles.

I do not speculate further here on the possible reaction to Flanders' speech in the US since I want to comment on two other matters, viz. the neutrality proposal itself and the opportunity which the present situation seems to me to present to our pacifist and Third Camp comrades in Germany.

The chances that the US and Russia will agree to guarantee the neutrality of a disarmed united Germany seem to me slender. If neutralisation is essentially an operation within a general context of continued power struggle, the US would probably be sceptical of leaving the balance of readily available forces in Europe highly favourable to Russia.

I surmise that Britain and even France might be dubious. Moreover, unless the

German people deliberately chose non-violence as the basis of their national life—a possibility to which we return in a moment—East and West would proceed on the assumption that neutralisation would not last indefinitely and would undertake measures calculated to bring Germany in on "the right side" when conditions changed.



If, on the other hand, the US and Russia, with the needed acquiescence of nations bordering on or close to Germany, were genuinely ready to see Germany turn pacifist, which is what permanent and voluntarily accepted disarmament would mean, then they would obviously be ready for settlement of world issues and general peace. Much as I wish this were the case, I doubt if the big powers have reached this point.

This brings me to my last point. In making it I am aware that people in one country should be modest about trying to formulate policy for people in another. But it is also true that the world is now one and we are all inevitably involved in what happens in other countries as well as our own. So here goes to our friends in Germany.

The NY Times sagely observes this morning: "This is a moment of extreme confusion in Western affairs." The confusion does not

● On back page

A. J. Muste speaks in New York

MR. A. J. MUSTE, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation addressed a meeting in New York recently on his return to the US from Europe, where he had been lecturing on the Third Camp.

In the course of his address, Mr. Muste cited seven points for a positive Third Camp programme of liberation. They were:

1. Liberation from war, conscription and militarism. Third Camp people will individually and collectively resist their own country's militarism.
2. Liberation of colonial peoples.
3. Liberation from poverty, which requires a world approach for its solution.
4. Liberation from racial or national discrimination. The Third Camp stands for fraternity based upon the oneness of the human family.
5. Liberation of the peoples from the domination ("new colonialism") of the United States and Russia.
6. Self-liberation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States from regimes which now exploit them and harness them in the service of global atomic war in the name of defence. Such liberation must come from the peoples themselves and not from outside military violence or covert violence.
7. Liberation of the human person from the various tyrannies which deprive him of his essential dignity and the possibility of self-realisation.

World Briefs

CEYLON: Five Vampire jet fighters ordered from Britain are being returned. The money will be used for "other purposes."

DENMARK: Sven Haugard has refused to obey an order requiring the owners of certain types of cars to register them with the military authorities and undertake to deliver them up at a given point in case of mobilisation or enemy attack. His refusal has been passed to the legal authorities.

INDIA: Commenting on a report that in Kenya 5,000 Mau Mau had been killed up to June this year and 120 were being killed each week, Harijan, the journal founded by Mahatma Gandhi, says: "If it is possible for the British to rule and hold on in their colony with such man-hunting and massacre which is un-British and unhuman, is it not better, one feels, to quit Kenya leaving it to be ruled by its people as they desire."

NEW ZEALAND: Leading Churchmen were among the sponsors of a Convention on International Relations held in Auckland. Subjects discussed were: The part Churches can play in relaxing international tensions; Race relations in the Pacific Islands; Armaments; the challenge of nuclear energy.

NORWAY: The official organ of the Labour Party "Kontakt" contained articles on pacifism and conscientious objection in the July issue.

SWEDEN: Practically the whole of Sweden, all Denmark, part of Norway and most of Finland would be devastated if an H-bomb was dropped on Leningrad, the Scandinavian Peace Conference was told by Dr. Felix Iversen, prominent Finnish pacifist.

PYRAMID PARTIES



THANKS to more dollars from USA and one or two substantial gifts from friends here, the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund has just passed the half-way mark. That is encouraging, and we are grateful to all who have helped us to reach £500, but we still have a long way to go to reach our aim, and there are only thirteen weeks till Christmas.

I have been hearing about a new craze which seems to have caught on in London in the shape of "pyramid parties." They work on the snowball or chain letter principle. X goes to a party at which there are seven others, each of whom gives half a crown to the host and promises to take two other people to parties the next night.

Each of these new guests in turn pay their half crown and get two others to go to yet more parties. The half crowns are all handed over to the person who started the chain, who ultimately receives £128, and then the succeeding hosts should also receive £128 as the parties grow and their turn comes round!

A good return for half a crown, but generally it is not long before the chain breaks and the snowball melts! It has, however, caught on at first, because most people like to get something for nothing or £128 for 2s.6d.

It is a different matter when it comes to asking people to give something for nothing. But no... it is certainly not for nothing in our case, but for the cause which is more important than any other, because all depends in the last resort on our being able to achieve lasting peace.

I am not intending to start a series of pyramid parties, or suggesting that you should do so! But what about sending half a crown and asking two of your friends to give you 2s. 6d. each for the PPU Headquarters Fund? If 1,000 readers of Peace News would do this during the week, the PPU would be £125 better off at a cost of only half a crown to each of you.

Have you ever asked any of your friends to give you half a crown in the cause of peace? I am sure that at least two of them would respond if you did ask. So my request this week is that each of you will give 2s. 6d. and ask at least two of your friends to give 2s. 6d. to send with yours. Will you please see what you can do about it?

STUART MORRIS
General secretary...

Total to date: £502
Our aim for the year: £1,000
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

"Servas" — a unique travel organisation

"SERVAS" (Peace Builders) has issued a leaflet "Travel in Britain" telling of the opportunities offered in Britain to users of their international "Work-study-travel" system.

Hosts (known as "Open Doors") willing to give hospitality for not more than two nights range "from the friendly person who offers a meal, a visit or a couch for the night to the 'expert' who, with fluent command of at least three languages, is prepared to discuss anything from homespun socks to Sanskrit."

"Most of our hosts," the leaflet continues, "have interests springing from their initial desire for peace or belong to branches of the British peace movement or organisations set up to express concern for international understanding and service, others more concerned with the political aspects of peace-building may concentrate on international politics or work through their own political party or movement, or having studied Gandhian techniques of non-violence are attempting to apply them to Western society... others feel their sphere lies in civic or rural politics."

Particular studies

The need for international understanding has drawn many of the hosts into a study of some particular country—they may have lived there or expressed a wish to receive travellers from there. The Indian Land Gift movement, the French Communities of Work, the Folk High Schools of Scandinavia and the Kibbutzim of Israel are typical of progressive groups which are being studied, while a topical subject of conversation at present is the Third Camp movement.

Many hosts work with an international group whose activities they are anxious to show to their guests "the Friends' International Centre in London, international centres under various auspices in many towns... a social club for coloured people in Birmingham... groups of the International Friendship League who organise social and educational activities for overseas friends... the East and West Friendship Council.

"The interests of others may have a less obvious bearing on peace-building but as we talk to them we shall see their ideas of how the good society contributes to world peace... these people work in churches and youth clubs, in the Woodcraft Folk, the Red Cross, Scouting and especially in the workcamp movement."

Travellers will be curious about the work of hosts, varying "from farming to mining, chemistry to carpentry, commercial travelling to veterinary surgery. There is an engineer and a doctor, a student and a university lecturer, a potter, a surveyor and a clerk. A feeling that British economy is unbalanced has led to a great emphasis on landwork, in rural crafts and in the less sophisticated pleasures of rambling, climbing, folk dancing, music making and drama, although they have not repudiated the influence of the commercial theatre, the cinema and the library in the formation of enlightened public opinion and taste."

Vocations found

"Many hosts who during the war had tried to express their ideas through service units have found a vocation in teaching, social work, youth work, work with children or old people, nursing, church work or the ministry. Musicians and writers like Michael Tippett and Vera Brittain have sought to use their talents to express our ideas through their own medium. Members of Family Service Units still carry on the work begun in wartime with the rehabilitation of problem families. One of our sponsors is working at a Friends Neighbourhood Centre in the slums of Birmingham. The Stone Bower Fellowship, a home for old and handicapped people, is staffed by a group of young people working on a pocket money basis and thinking out their contribution to society together."

The leaflet goes on to describe how some travellers will try to see all they can of Britain, others with less time may prefer to confine their visits to a single area to build up a picture of some aspect of British life—an industrial centre, a rural area or a comparison of the two. Others will plan their stay using opportunities to work offered by some of the hosts. Some may be interested in personalities, others will plan in order to follow their political or vocational interests.

This leaflet and others describing the international Work-study-travel system can be obtained from the European Secretary, Esma Burrough, 135 Foden Road, Birmingham, 22a, England, or from the American Secretary, Bob Luitweiler, Box 818, New Haven, Conn., USA.

Technical Assistance enquiry

AN enquiry by experts from many countries and from international agencies into the methods and results of international action in the field of technical assistance took place at Geneva from July 27 to 30 under the sponsorship of Unesco in collaboration with the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. The meeting was attended by social scientists and representatives of the Technical Assistance Board and its participating agencies. It discussed methods, techniques and criteria of evaluation of technical assistance for economic development, including both existing programmes and future evaluation procedures.

The meeting which was held with the co-operation of scientific associations was intended to assist governments and international agencies in solving the problems of evaluating the methods and results of operational programmes in the field of international action. The goal in view was to establish criteria for such evaluation.

The front line of peacemaking

By TOM WARDLE

"WHEN I came through Holland," said the young German excitedly, "I saw a British war cemetery, I saw Bunkers built by the troops of my own country to help to kill those British soldiers." His voice was shaking with feeling as he asked: "What can I do to prevent that happening again?"

He was answering his own question. He was attending an international work-camp, building with his own hands and his sympathetic nature the peace he so desperately wants to see.

In this case it was a youth club the campers were constructing. In the heart of Birmingham. It seems a far cry from sunny, romantic Spain to the drab grime of an English midland town. But two young girls thought the trip worth it. Carmen One and Carmen Two they called them. Carmen One spoke Spanish and a little French. Carmen Two made do with Spanish. But they got along.

Next time you hear that Spain is a tight-shut box, remember Carmen One and Two. "But many young people don't travel from Spain these days?" I queried.

"It's the money," said Carmen One. "We are not rich, so we have no chance to travel. But in the work camps we can go abroad and make new friends and help others as a reward for the pleasure."

The girls from Spain were Roman Catholics and inveterate coffee drinkers. They had never worshipped with people of other religious groups before; they had never drunk tea before; they had never been abroad before.

At the Birmingham camp they made their daily worship with the rest in the quiet way of Quakers; they not only drank tea, they made it—and it was indistinguishable from the way they do it in Lancashire (said by authorities to be the finest tea-making community in the world); they saw Britain, quite a good deal of it, town and country, with visits—to the theatre at Stratford, industries and schools—thrown in.

The "war of peace"

While the Carmens were painting the back window of the Nissen hut the campers were putting into shape, I talked to a blonde girl busy planing down a door.

When she said she came from Israel, I was surprised, then remembered that many Israeli-born Jews are fair. She was working with a girl from Germany.

There were other Germans too and an American girl not long out of college, young English girls and men and friends from Birmingham who dropped in to give a hand in the evening and at week-ends.

How had they got there, to a Quaker work camp, these Catholics, Evangelicals, Jews, Quakers and nothing-specials? Some had heard of it through friends who had been before. Some had applied to the World Council of Churches (Ecumenical Work Camps) and been told "we're full up, try the Quakers." They had, and here they were! For several weeks they sawed and planed, bricklaid and painted. They cooked like chefs, ate like bears, discussed like professors and sang like soldiers.

They are soldiers in a way—soldiers of peace, sharing the rough and tumble, the hard labour and the adventure of the "war of peace."

FOOTNOTE: On the other side of the world, at Crownpoint, New Mexico, work campers have helped Navajo Indians build a centre for their 250 strong community.

Current films

"DEMETRIUS and the Gladiators," a 20th-Century-Fox film several times quotes that it is against a Christian's religion to kill. Demetrius who, because he is a Christian, is expected by the non-Christians to turn the other cheek and not defend himself, says, "God did not put man on earth to kill his own kind." He fights in the arena, but, saying, "I'm a Christian, I can't take a man's life," spares his defeated opponent.

Later turning killer and adulterer, he is told by Peter, "You've become a slave again," and by the man who armed him: "When I put a sword in your hand, it killed you."

This same gladiator asks Peter: "If one who has killed 30 men could ever hope to sleep again."

Finally, Demetrius throws away his sword and again becomes a Christian.

★

"THE Caine Mutiny," a 20th-Century-Fox film gives an accurate picture of the nature of naval life, especially in the USA Navy.

It begins with an admiral dismissing cadets off to war with the glib, "Good luck and good hunting."

Soon it admits that the navy transforms civilians into "men without minds." One officer says it was "designed by a genius to be run by idiots. One per cent of the work requires creative intelligence. The rest could be done by monkeys."

It shows how rich parents can have their sons transferred from a dangerous post to a safe shore one. Above all, it demonstrates how a half-mad commanding officer can behave like a mad tyrant, make blatant errors, show cowardice in action, cancel every liberty on his ship and yet have naval psychiatrists testify that he is not a paranoiac, when his senior officer has to take over to save the vessel during a gale.

The conclusion hammers home that a USA naval commander cannot possibly be a coward and that, as in too many American films, the villain is the sole "intellectual" not the man of action!

RONALD S. MALLONE

An American and a Russian as UN Under-Secretaries

AN American and a Russian have been appointed to the positions of Under-Secretaries to the United Nations.



MR. TCHERNYCHEV



MR. BUNCHE

They are, Mr. Ralph J. Bunche, the eminent Negro lawyer who was seconded to the United Nations by the US State Department, and Mr. Ilya S. Tchernychev, previously of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The function of Mr. Bunche and Mr. Tchernychev will be different from that of the other Under-Secretaries in that they will be available for ad hoc assignments of an inter-departmental character under the new administrative arrangements recently announced by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

British notes

BRISTOL: Pacifists in the West of England rally together tomorrow in the Broadweir Friends Meeting House. They will hear Hugh Brock, the National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, elect area officers and proceed to raise funds by an auction of gifts.

BURY (Lancs): Reporting that the Library Committee had changed its mind and would display Peace News, Councillor Kenyon said "We decided to give the periodical a trial because of the persistence of these people (the local Fellowship of Reconciliation)."

MANSFIELD: Because it was unpleasant, the community was trying to dodge thinking about the H-bomb, Mr. George Thomas, MP for Cardiff, told a Co-operative Day audience of 200 on Saturday. "Security lies in brotherhood—but while we talk brotherhood we go on piling up arms at the rate of £1,600 a year," said Mr. Thomas. "The language of the militarist is inadequate to the needs of the world to-day."

THE Friend publishes an evaluation of the visit by six young Russians to this country written by Frank Lees, Russian-speaking leader of the team of young Quakers who acted as hosts.

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VIETNAM AND THE THIRD CAMP

By Ho Huu-Tuong

Leader of the Democratic Socialists in Vietnam

FOLLOWING the agreements reached at Geneva, which the Communist and non-Communist powers have signed and which the USA has undertaken not to oppose, general elections will take place in Viet-Nam in 1956.

These will permit the people to declare themselves on the unity of the country and to choose the regime and the leaders they desire. Thus the battle of Dien Bien Phu gives place to the political conflict which will be settled by the voting paper.

If in the past elections have been seen in a bad light and turned to ridicule, on this occasion they will have an historical significance of the first importance.

If the course of modern history is only a duel between egotistic capitalism and totalitarian Communism it is evident that each point gained by either brings it nearer to final victory, and that the verdict of the Vietnamese in 1956, which will bring the whole country under a single regime, will be a stage in the victory of the system for which the majority pronounces.

The Vietnamese Communists hold all the aces—political, military, demographic, organisational—and certainly look forward to a striking victory. They are like a man tranquilly seated at the foot of a tree bearing a fruit already too ripe, which will fall into his hands even before he is hungry.

The so-called "nationalist" soldiers, badly equipped and badly trained, and who carry on their shoulders the heavy burden of the colonial past are in hysterical fear of this political ordeal.

They are seeking by every means to evade a battle which will inflict on them a most punishing defeat. If SEATO, recently signed at Manila, has no great importance, at least it offers a framework and an atmosphere that may enable the Vietnamese "nationalists" to renew a fire that has now been painfully extinguished.

True supporters

The true supporters of world peace must be aware of the danger of war which may be brought back by these people who find themselves in a political impasse.

In making its appeal to the mass of the people the movement of national liberation has checked the gigantic coalitions of interests that have had their day. Those who wish for the unity of the country, reconciliation and peace with social progress are today the faithful interpreters of the people's wishes.

In appealing to the power of the people they will enable the Vietnamese nation to pursue its destiny, which in this atomic age is at one with the destiny of the whole world.

Of a world total of 2,500 million inhabitants the Russians constitute less than 200 millions and around these are polarised about 700 millions in the Eastern bloc. On the other side there are less than 200 million Americans, around whom are polarised about 500 millions in the Western bloc.

There remains then a good half of humanity which does not engage itself on either side. If that part of the world population takes the way of peace, socialism, mutual understanding and brotherhood it will have the possibility of carrying with it many of those in the part of the world that has been polarised by the two blocs.

That possibility could be favourably realised in South-East Asia where 600 million people live and where the leaders now stand at the crossroads. If the leaders make the right choice, rejecting the perspectives opened to them by the two blocs, and resolutely take the Third Way, having regard to the influence that is already exercised by India they may be able to carry with them all the British Commonwealth, and it is possible that the French Union could be brought to move in the same direction.

At a later stage it might be hoped to humanise the China of Mao, if the Third Way could offer a better chance of building a socialist society independently of the totalitarian plan.

Thus the two blocs, reduced to the two poles, would no longer constitute the determining factor for the future of humanity. Once it could be made evident that there was another choice than participation in the East-West conflict the peoples could give free rein to their natural trends towards progress.

Such a possibility will not inevitably present itself. Despite the difficulties, however, it has

to be recognised that a world menaced by destruction through the tension between the two blocs has no possibility of finding any other solution than this.

The following programme of action arises therefore:

1. Immediate formation of a peace zone in South-East Asia;

By aiding the leaders to pronounce in favour of neutrality as between the two blocs;

By organising centres of co-operation (economic, technical, cultural);

By instituting supra-national centres for the direction of common interests (rice, primary products, planning, emigration);

By establishing social peace, the only antidote to cold war.

2. Development and consolidation of this peace zone:

By giving it a philosophic and doctrinal basis;

By establishing a method of economic planning other than the Soviet method. Success in this would offer the world a choice between three ways: capitalism, anarchic and anti-social; forced planning; and human progress through reason, justice and liberty.

By establishing the culture of tomorrow through the synthesis of the three civilisations that at present guide the world: the engineer's civilisation (West); the political commissar's civilisation (East); and lastly, the civilisation of the yogi (S-E Asiatic).

This great human culture would permit the different parts of the world to understand each other, to collaborate, and to learn to respect each other. It would permit the coming of the great confederation of peoples, first stage in the world unity of which idealists of all times have dreamed.

Looked at in a general perspective therefore, the salvation of Vietnam is something that is conceivable. If between now and 1956 the South-East Asian countries that are already free declare themselves for the "Third Way" such an act would galvanise the Vietnamese people. Their deeper aspirations would be awakened, the conscious forces would regroup themselves and hidden energies would be released.

There is no doubt that, recognising that its own neutrality as between the two blocs leads to the Third Way, that of peace and democratic socialism, the Vietnamese people in the elections of 1956 can sound the first victory, not for the totalitarian East or for the capitalist West, but for their own free form of socialism.

Challenge — within limits

"IN Pursuit of Peace" (6d. from 27 Northern Avenue, London, N.9.) is a pamphlet claiming to set out "a socialist approach to foreign affairs" by Olive Bentley, Hugh Jenkins and Walter Wolfgang, with a commendatory preface by William Warbey, MP, and the general backing of thirteen other MPs.

It carefully sets out within the limits of its space the most important facts behind the power conflict in the world today.

The pamphlet is argued on largely Bevanist lines and it has the strength and the weaknesses of the Bevanist outlook. It is more in line with popular feeling than has been the official Labour Party attitude and it makes a display of a number of facts that are all too often glossed over; in regard to its conclusions, however, it is vague and it is careful to edge away from the deductions to which its premises point.

The authors outline the economic changes that have made it inevitable that Britain can no longer be one of the great powers but can only be an important minor power. It can have, it is urged, considerable influence in the world provided its people understand its nature and limitations.

The writers, however, do not really face these limitations. They face the fact that Britain needs to be economically independent but they also imply that she can still be in a minor sense a military power. The discussion of the extent of this military power and what can be done with it is evaded.

Similarly, although Britain has to accept peaceful co-existence as a necessity, the alternative being the probable end of civilisation; and although she is to express her disagreement with the main lines of policy that America is following in the world struggle in which it is engaged, Britain is still apparently to maintain her alliance with America, and is still to be locked to this powerful ally by the chain of American bases on her territory from which atomic warfare is to be waged.

It is good that this pamphlet has been published. It is a stage in the renewal of debate so badly needed in the Labour Party.

If that debate is to lead to a genuine clarification, however, the thinking involved will have to be considerably bolder and franker than this. J.J.

Why Slovik was shot

By Sam Walsh

Sam Walsh, ex-soldier of World War I, comments on William Bradford Huie's "The Execution of Private Slovik" (Signet Books, 25c.; from Housmans, 2s. 6d.).

THIS is the most significant book since Reginald Thompson's "Cry Korea."

The two books together provide an analysis from which the reader can trace the element of the greatest confusion in civilisation; and from despairing indignation the reader may turn to an aspect that is not without hope.

The shocking story of the judicial murder of Edward Donald Slovik is soon told in summary. Its full poignancy is only to be felt in Huie's step-by-step narrative.

Briefly, Eddie Slovik was a mild delinquent who began a so-called criminal career by stealing bread and cakes from his first employer, a baker, when he was 10 or 11; and then proceeded to accumulate a police record which culminated in his conviction for helping himself to 59 dollars 60 cents worth of candy, chewing gum, cigarettes and small change.

For this offence he was put away, at 17, for five years, and then paroled. During the period of parole Eddie married a good girl on whom he could lean and honestly build up the typical American paradise of a well-furnished home and a car, and anticipate a family of cute kids.

From this dream he was rudely awakened in 1943, on the first anniversary of his wedding, and torn away from all that he held dear, by the expedient of raising his medical category to fit him officially for the slaughterhouse of war.

An ordinary American

Despite appearances he was a naturally decent ordinary American who could not fight bloodily. In one of the 376 letters this homesick lad wrote to his wife in the 372 days of army service which ended in his execution on January 31, 1945, he said: "I hate guns."

His introduction to war was terrible. Dragged away from his only real and all too brief home life, Eddie was thrust into unfamiliar company in the doubly strange land of Europe and chaotic warfare.

Already reluctant, he was introduced via the atmosphere of an American army in which the desertion rate boomed to such an extent in the winter of 1944 that a commander could go up at night expecting to find two hundred men in the line and be lucky to find seventy—an army of which one million members dodged front line duty by such devices as getting discharged for bad conduct, self-inflicted wounds, or on a psychiatrist's certificate.

The author's recital of the sickening ritual of destruction is simply appalling. But only a shortsighted reader will see in this book a mere record of brutality, or be deceived by Mr. Huie's raising such hoary questions as whether front line offences had better be judged by front line soldiers.

Slovik stood up to his death with astonishing calm and courage. He believed he was singled out for shooting (48 other approved death sentences for desertion were never carried out) because he had a police record. He was partly right, but this simple soul was distinguished from the thousands of his fellows seeking courts-martial to avoid combatant duties in that he concluded a voluntary confession of desertion by asserting that he would not hesitate to run away again, and refusing to retract.

The remarkable absence of dissimulation, construed as defiance, marked Slovik out for the extreme penalty.

Morals destroyed

Reginald Thompson's "Cry Korea" gave a picture of the American soldier which showed him living in a kind of masochistic squalor, his morals having been destroyed by reliance on automatic weapons. He fought like a gangster. His firing was controlled only by impulse, was often indiscriminate and sometimes senseless.

Experienced American commanders concluded that in the face of well-armed and well-trained troops their army would disintegrate. The outcome was the American resort to press-button mass destruction which is the ultimate expression of cowardice.

Now we have Mr. Huie's revelation that the American army's facade of ferocity in 1944 camouflaged individual frailty on a scale never before encountered on a European battlefield—except perhaps in the panic conditions of the Italian retreat in 1917.

The trigger-happy tough guy was not the thick-skinned thug he pretended to be. He was a bundle of nerves.

Eddie Slovik was shot because he uniquely personified this factor.

The USA is one mass of anxiety. Its leaders pathetically covet the tradition of stiff upper lip militarism and of mariners who go down with their ships; plan for warfare on a colossal scale; and seek to reconcile instinctive individualism with mass discipline.

While it is clear that America's inability to rely on the individual fighting of its citizen soldiers is conducive to its strategy of littering Europe with atom and hydrogen bomb bases, is there not a gleam of hope that the average decent American's reluctance to go to war will extend to downright denunciation of the whole dirty business.

TALKING OF BOOKS

By Robert Greacen

Linguistic Provinces (6d.); Medium of Instruction (6d.); This Was Bapu (4s.); The Removal of Untouchability (7s.). By M. K. Gandhi; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India.

World Federal Government, by Edith Wynner. Fedon Press, New York, \$2.

THE student of Gandhi-ism will no doubt be aware of the publications of the Navajivan Press. Some of these, naturally, like the first two on the list, are concerned with specifically Indian problems that may not have a great deal of interest for the British non-specialist reader.

THIS WAS BAPU contains a hundred anecdotes relating to Mahatma Gandhi. A letter Gandhi wrote to Adolf Hitler at Christmas 1941 is reproduced here; unfortunately the then Government of India would not allow it to be sent to the Nazi dictator. Gandhi wrote thus, after explaining the nature of non-violence:

I, therefore, appeal to you in the name of humanity to stop the war. You will lose nothing by referring all the matters of dispute between you and Great Britain to an International Tribunal of your joint choice. If you attain success in the war, it will not prove you were in the right.

It is interesting to hear a noble Hindu asking for peace in the name of Christ (at a time when most of the Christian clergy would have scorned such an appeal):

Is it too much to ask you to make an effort for peace during a time which may mean nothing to you personally, but must mean much to the millions of Europeans, whose dumb cry for peace I hear, for my ears are attuned to hearing the dumb millions?

Ossified tradition

The editor of **THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY** reminds us that this was the topic on which Gandhi wrote most and that this fact reveals the importance which he attached to that ideal. Gandhi realised that Hindu tradition had ossified, and become cruel and reactionary. The Untouchables had been put "outside the pale," made to perform the dirtiest work and treated contemptuously by the higher castes. Gandhi campaigned incessantly—and with considerable success—against such a "religious" concept, which is no more in keeping with true Hinduism than mass-killing is with true Christianity. The writings gathered together in this volume help to explain the spiritual dominance of the greatest of twentieth century pacifists and Indians.

Edith Wynner in **WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT** insists that only world federalism can bring about permanent peace. She writes that "world disarmament will be the world government's major task." One of her proposals is the election of United Nations delegates; another is that real legislative authority should be granted to the UN Assembly. The latter body would be given power to enforce direct taxation and exercise police authority.

Miss Wynner has written a stimulating little book, but it is difficult to see how in this day and age of hardly-diminished power politics (and emphasis on national sovereignty) her proposals will be given a chance even to be proved wrong. She tries, incidentally, to face the economic consequences of universal disarmament, a theme to which pacifists in general have given too little thought.

Not Tit Bits

No doubt many readers of Peace News were sorry to hear of the death of the literary weekly, John O'London's, news of which the proprietors, Messrs. George Newnes, hastily sprung on the public (and apparently their editorial staff, too). It is hard to believe that a journal which could sell at least 50,000 copies weekly had no future as a financial proposition. Last year's trading profit for Messrs. Newnes various publications exceeded £1½ million. The killing of this semi-educational and old-established magazine is a sad comment both on commercial responsibility and contemporary mass taste. One understands that Messrs. Newnes have no intention of closing-down Tit Bits.

Planning for peace

CROYDON, Surrey, has formed a "united front" for the War on Want.

A "Planning for Plenty" conference which was held at the Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Croydon on Tuesday September 28 has brought the organisers, The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom the support of the Croydon Council of Peace Groups and the local UNA, Teachers' Association, and Society of Friends.

The first session was addressed by Prof. George Catlin on "Social Tensions and Peace;" and Miss B. M. Baker (former Headmistress of Badminton School, Bristol) on "Education for Peace and Plenty."

At the evening session, starting at 7.15 p.m., Mrs. Stella Alexander (Secretary of UNA Women's Advisory Council) spoke about FAO work in India; and Mr. H. J. Timperley, of the War on Want Council, discussed "World Poverty and Peace."

Rev. FRANK HANKINSON

IT is with regret that we report the death on August 8, of Rev. Frank B. Hankinson, Methodist minister at Llangynidr, Crickhowell, Breconshire.

He was minister at several churches in Wales and the north of England and throughout his ministry never failed to maintain the faith of a Christian pacifist, which faith he revealed by his own example.

"His sermons proclaimed the way of the Cross in personal, social and international life," writes a friend. Our sympathies are extended to his wife, who joined him so often in his pacifist activities.

INDIAN OPINION

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APPLY

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Indian Opinion

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LETTERS

Formosa

YOUR comments on Formosa emphasise the dangers of the present situation. It would be well to recall at this juncture that in January, 1950, President Truman had announced that neither Formosa nor Korea would be included in the American perimeter of defence; and that Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State, had been emphatic that since Formosa belonged to China it would be utterly wrong for America to intervene in the civil war between the Nationalists on Formosa and the Communist government in China.

General MacArthur and his followers, however, aimed at re-establishing Chiang Kai-shek, and in the middle of June, Foster Dulles, Louis Johnson and General Bradley were sent out to the Far East to discuss with General MacArthur in Tokyo the new policy for bases in the Pacific.

Full details were published in the Press at Washington, but Dean Acheson objected. On June 23 he told a Press conference that the news from Tokyo would not lead to any change in his policy announced in January.

However, on June 25 the Korean War broke out. General MacArthur, who had impressed President Truman on the necessity of having Korea and Formosa in the chain of US bases, by his march to the Yalu River deliberately threatened China's safety, and heeded none of the warnings issued by United Nations members.

It is to be hoped that the United Nations will not become involved in a war about Formosa—world war would inevitably follow.

Sale,

L. BOLT.

Manchester.

The "Backward Races"

ONE of the essentials of pacifism is the removal of the root causes of fear and strife: namely the exploitation of markets. Selling manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials is a gross injustice to backward peoples.

To talk of disarming and giving what we save to backward races is too vague. All the gear and personnel of our armament set-up would have to be re-directed and re-employed. If all peace lovers were to pool and give to these backward races what we are said to spend on indulgences and pleasure, the politicians would take us seriously.

I believe those who have reached the position of saying "No" to war, are expected also to think out the political and economic consequences.

M. C. MADDEVER.

Liskeard, Cornwall.

Russia and atomic weapons

YET again I am prompted to write to you in view of your editorial comment on my letter in Peace News for September 17. The Soviet Government's proposal was perfectly clear—that several states together should unconditionally pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen or any other weapons of mass destruction. It did not, and does not propose that it should unilaterally make that pledge while the Americans continue to pile up their atomic bombs and use atomic blackmail.

What is perfectly clear from the Russian proposal is that the Soviet Government is ready immediately to pledge itself never to use such weapons, if we and the American Government would do likewise. One would therefore expect Peace News representing the

pacifists of the West—to urge the British and American governments to accept the Soviet proposal, in which case the danger of the use of hydrogen and atomic bombs will be eliminated.

PAT SLOAN,
General Secretary.British-Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1.

Peace News not only urges a British renunciation of the use of atomic weapons if the Russians will agree to do likewise. It urges the renunciation by Britain of such weapons independently of what other nations may do. We wish it were possible that there might be some Russians expressing the views of the pacifists of the East and urging a similar policy in Russia.—Ed.

SOS to PPU members

THE aim of Peace Pledge Union Field work is to contact and link up with outlying groups and isolated members, and to give them the assurance that they are very much part of a great organisation.

May I then appeal to all members (and friends) anywhere in Great Britain, who could occasionally offer hospitality for a few days or a week to the Field worker or speaker.

If a list of such members could be compiled, it would be of great value, and save a great deal of time, expense and energy.

The call on any particular district would be very occasional, and good notice would, of course, be given of any proposed visit.

I should also be grateful in the same connection to know of any members of friends who have a car at their disposal, who could—again very occasionally—give an hour or two of their time to help with transport to outlying districts.

Here is something practical that members will, I hope, feel they can do to help the work of the PPU.

I shall be grateful to receive any offers of help.

ETHEL LEWIS.

Brill, Aylesbury,

Bucks.

The First Camp

YOU write about a Third Camp, but what is needed is for all people of goodwill to rally to the First Camp, which is God's through Jesus Christ.

The second Camp is the Devil's. There is no Third way, although atheists, agnostics, and apostate Christians may be seeking it. God has shown clearly that you must either serve him or mammon.

ERIC MAYES.

48 Earsham Street, Bungay.

Its proper number

I DON'T like the pacifist position being considered as the Third Camp, nor the Fourth idea (Esme Wynne Tyson) nor the Fifth Column—it is First Principles—the motivating force being "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you" which denotes its proper number in the realm of ideas.

The Wilderness, WALTER SPRADBURY.
Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

The only realist

THE quotation in PN from Lord Welby is worth alone a year's subscription. It cannot be too much stressed that the "pacifist" is the only realist. Twelve years ago, anyone who suggested the rearming of Germany would have run the risk of being lynched; today the TUC pundits call opposition to this "emotionalism."

DOROTHY HAWKIN.

30 Hampstead Way, N.W.11

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TRENDS

THE conflict between Washington and Paris does not turn on the rejection of the alliance—as a dishonouring and dishonoured press tries each day to instigate—but on the conception of alliance.

Paris considers it to be an agreement between free peoples, equal in rights, among whom none can impose on the others its unilateral will; Washington tends to see in it a sort of disguised protectorate in which the European countries play the role of the Philippines, Formosa and South Korea.

—Maurice Duverger, in LE MONDE, September 22

"European domination is now challenged by other sources of power and there is a radical change in the distribution of political, economic and military strength. New giant communities replace the old imperialism and great masses of mankind are brought into material and spiritual servitude by exploiting their insurgent nationalisms and social discontents."

This is the dangerously explosive situation of the present day, but not to be met by armaments alone and not to be solved by force. I suggest to this Conference that the fundamental task of our Party in the interests of world peace is to fortify and extend the influence of democracy throughout the world by stressing its implications in the spheres of social justice and economic emancipation."

—MR. WILFRED BURKE, MP, in his Presidential address to the Labour Party Conference.

TODAY several nations are beginning to think American aid costs more—both in self-respect and in opportunities to trade elsewhere—than it is worth.

The United States must decide whether it wants satellites or friends.

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, July 30, 1954.

NEW PLAY

A NEW play by Roy Walker, "Justice Fielding," will be broadcast in the Home Service of the BBC on October 4.

Friday, October 1

GRANTHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Westgate Hall. "Can the United Nations Secure Peace?" Brains Trust incl. S. Silverman, MP, J. B. Godber, MP, Rev. Donald Pipe, etc. Crusade for World Govt.

GLASGOW: 1.1. 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St. Group Mtg. PPU.

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Bond St. AGM Reports and election of officers. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7 p.m.; Hope House, 61 Peter St. (by Smith St.). Showing of Peace Films. Introduced by Tom Wardle. Peace News and PYAG.

Saturday, October 2

BELFAST: 3.30 p.m.; Customs Hse. steps. Open-air mtg. S. McVicker, P. O'Hara and others H-bomb Ctee.

BRISTOL: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Hugh Brock, PPU National Chairman. Sale of produce by auction. 5 p.m.; tea. Western Area Annual Rally.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., Ruth Ashton. "The Aggressor on our Doorstep." Visitors welcome. Religion Commission, PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 3.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Area matters. 6 p.m.; Harold Bing. "The Third Way." Southern Area, PPU.

UXBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd. Brains Trust. CO Fellowship.

Sunday, October 3

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Hanworth Walker. Religion Commission, PPU.

Monday, October 4

ADDISCOMBE: 8 p.m.; St. Philip's Mission, 101 Dalmally Rd. St. Francis Day Service (World Day for Animals). Christian pacifists and all who love St. Francis invited. Evangelical Catholic Community.

Tuesday, October 5

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Manchester Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Manchester Central PPU Gp. welcomes all who are interested in pacifism at mtg. to discuss Peace Profession. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.10: 8 p.m.; Kensal Rise Methodist Church Hall, Chamberlayne Rd. Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. "Only Pacifism is Practical."

Wednesday, October 6

HASTINGS: 6.30 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonard's. Synposium. "This week's Peace News." Opener, Philip Millwood, followed by discussion on "How to increase Peace News circulation." PPU.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Dve. Dr. E. H. S. Burhop. "The Moral Responsibilities of Scientists." PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. "O.R. PPU.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Park End St. PPU Group Mtg.

Thursday, October 7

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall, Old Market St. Rev. W. J. Downes. "Esperanto as an aid to Peace." FoR.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Cecil Hinshaw. "USA Policy and Peace." SoF, FoR, PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Friday, October 8

SHEFFIELD: 12.45 p.m.; City Memorial Hall. Lunch-hour mtg. Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. "It Must Be Pacifism." PPU, FoR, SoF.

Saturday, October 9

ADDISCOMBE: 3 p.m.; St. Phillip's Mission, 101 Dalmally Rd. Peace Service. Evangelical Catholic Community.

EDMONTON: 7.30 p.m.; Independent Cong. Ch. Knights Lane. Joint Social, Cong. Ch. and PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, October 9-10

BRIDLINGTON: Weekend school, Alexandra Hotel. F. Rona, MSc. "The Economic Consequences of Disarmament." Details: A. Leaper, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

HERNE BAY: Weekend conf., Herne Bay Court. John Ferguson, MA, BD, "Christians and World Affairs." FoR.

INVITATION

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are open to all; they are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them or to pacifists. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA, by Canon Collins, Chairman, Victor Gollancz, Central Hall, Westminster. Wednesday, October 6, 7.15 p.m. Doors open 6.15. Buffet. Questions invited. Tickets 2s. 6d. reserved, 1s. unreserved, from Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4, or from Central Hall. Many free seats available.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Cland M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

REV. DR. DONALD SOPER, M.A., at Kensal Rise Methodist Church Hall, Chamberlayne Road, N.W.10. Tuesday, October 5, 8 p.m. Subject: "Only Pacifism is Practical."

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

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THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Wormsley, 64 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

THE LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP invites inquiries for membership from Labour Party Members, Trade Unionists, and Co-operators. Details from the Secretary, Denis Brian, 24a Breakspurs Rd., London, S.E.4.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WANTED to contact, psychologist (probably Jungian approach), with humanitarian and not too "scientific" attitude to people. Box 583.

We INVITE your enquiries about our work for international friendship. S.A.B.—"Caravan" (FT), 14 Lamb Close, Edmonton, N.9.

CHINESE FILM PREMIERE, "When the Grapes are Ripe" (Eng. sub-titles). Scala Theatre, W.1. Friday, Oct. 1, at 7.30 p.m. Tickets 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., 5s., 7s. 6d., 10s. 6d., from Educ. Cttee., Britain-China Friendship Assn., 228 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1, or at door.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. FRImrose 5686.

LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Bunton Rd., London.

THE LABOUR PEACE LEADER (bi-monthly) is the organ of the Labour Peace Fellowship. 1s. 9d. per annum post free from S. Edgeworth, 27 Rowland Avenue, Kenton, Middx.

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SITUATIONS VACANT
The engagements of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

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INDIA AND THE WORLD

By Horace Alexander

ONE of the most important developments of the past ten years has been the emergence of India as a country with a distinct policy of its own. This policy is largely identified with Jawaharlal Nehru, who is both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of free India; but although Mr. Nehru is frequently giving expression to India's policy, he is not isolated; he is speaking for most thoughtful Indians.

What are the main ingredients of India's policy? First, let it be noted that her internal policy and her external are closely related. Free India is trying to achieve democracy and a welfare state, where all men can share in the good life, at the same time that she is striving to promote freedom and concord in the world as a whole.

To most followers of Gandhi, these two developments go together; each depends on the other. Some of his followers even insist that peace among the nations is a vain aim until there is peace in the social structure. But others would not go so far as this.

International war, they see, frustrates the movement towards personal freedom and social justice; therefore it is quite as important to pursue world peace, to reduce conflict among nations, as to promote social justice.

India's welfare state

It is only possible here to deal in a very summary fashion with the efforts that are being made to create a welfare state; most of my space must be given to a discussion of India's international policy.

India's Five Year Plan, now in its fourth year of execution, envisages an increase of India's national income, by 1956, of eleven to twelve per cent; and by that time it is anticipated that India will no longer need to import food. In spite of the continued increase of population (serious efforts are being made to tackle this problem too), it seems that these targets may well be reached, and within the following five years, progress should be more rapid.

By next year, a quarter of India's half-million villages will be affected by the various community projects, which involve a concerted attack by combined government action and local initiative on the condition of the soil, the better use of water supplies, improvement of crops and of cattle breeding, fostering of village crafts, improvement of health and hygiene, more and better schools, and other measures of welfare. In general, it seems that the response of the masses to this great effort is good.

The general election of 1951, in which over one hundred million men and women voted, together with other forces, has shown the village people that they are expected to be the architects of their own "free India."

Vinoba Bhawe and land gifts

As a foundation for all this government effort, the Land Gifts Mission, led by Vinoba Bhawe, is of the utmost importance. A man of God, whose life-long service to the poor and outcast has given him a position second only to that of Gandhi himself in the eyes of the millions, he has already persuaded those who own land to give him over three million acres for distribution among landless labourers.

But he aims at fifty million acres—a sixth of all the land of India. "Ultimately," says Vinoba, "it has to be the dedication of one's all for the well-being of all. Those who have must look upon those who have not as a mother looks upon her hungry child. She feeds it before she feeds herself; she starves before she allows it to starve."

Today, Vinoba invites not only gifts of land but also gifts of money, gifts of labour, gifts of life-service. And more and more of his fellow-countrymen respond. He is trying to show the world that a social and economic revolution can come about through active consent and goodwill, without coercion, without plundering the rich. He believes that even the hard hearts of selfish, acquisitive men can be touched.

This is the sanction behind India's foreign policy—the sanction of men of the highest character, striving to build a peaceful social order in their own poverty-stricken land.

The end of colonialism

What, then, is India trying to do in the international world? Two things: to hasten the end of the old "colonialism," and to enable the communist and western nations to

live at peace with one another. It must never be forgotten that, to most thoughtful people in Asia and Africa, "colonialism" is still the greatest evil to be fought and banished from the world.

The withdrawal of the French from the Middle East, of the Dutch from Indonesia, and the more dramatic and whole-hearted withdrawal of Britain from India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, had a profound effect on the minds of most Asians, but the determination of the French to remain in Indo-China and North Africa, the Portuguese stubbornness in holding on to Goa and other eastern colonies, together with some aspects of recent British policy in Malaya and in parts of Africa, have revived their fears; it would seem that the old colonialism is not dead yet.

American support of the imperialists and reactionaries has brought many bitter comments. Many Indians think that the American people are now drunk with power and success, and are trying to force their short-sighted policies, together with economic and military dependence, on the whole world. This will explain the sharp Indian reaction to American military aid to Pakistan.

Alert to Communist dangers

But Nehru and his colleagues are not blind to the dangers that come from the new Communist expansion. Communist China's military occupation of Tibet came as a profound shock to India, and brought strong protest from Delhi. More recently India and China have signed a treaty in which India recognizes Tibet as a region of China; but that cannot allay India's doubts about Chinese designs on Burma and other independent South Asian countries.

This helps to explain the recent Colombo Conference where the Indian, Pakistani, Burmese and Indonesian Prime Ministers met the Prime Minister of Ceylon to discuss ways and means of helping one another to keep clear of outside domination. These newly-freed nations are determined to preserve their hard-won independence.

In the words of Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's present ambassador to Washington: "We are of the view that there is inadequate recognition of the importance of Asia in the counsels of nations, and are distressed when we see attempts being made to settle Asian problems by ignoring the wishes and feelings of Asian countries." He added: "We want to be friends, not satellites."

And in the same speech, Mr. Mehta declared: "India holds that the real enemies of mankind are economic and social evils such as poverty and hunger, disease, racial discrimination, domination and exploitation of weaker peoples by the powerful nations of the world."

The way of goodwill and faith

When the world is divided into hostile groups, each suspecting the other of aggressive designs, there seem to be two alternative policies for nations to adopt. Either they can arm and go on arming till, as in the past, an explosion occurs; or one side can resolve to try to overcome the suspicion and ill-will of the other side in faith that, with persistence, the "enemy's" hostile intentions will be undermined, and he will agree to live at peace.

It is the conviction of the leaders of India that this second policy is the policy of brave men and nations; the other policy arises from fear, an emotion which rarely produces good results.

So, without minimizing the difficulty, Indian policy today is set towards winning the goodwill of China and Russia, and it has seemed very clear in recent months that the British Government is in close sympathy with Indian policy.

Less than ten years from the time when Mr. Nehru and his colleagues were His Majesty's prisoners, with what seemed an unbridgeable chasm of distrust and mutual suspicion dividing them from Britain, India and Britain find themselves of one mind in pursuing a policy which, if patiently pursued, may bring Asia and the West into a closer accord than history has ever yet known.

Surely this fact in itself should give hope that the way of trust and goodwill pays the highest dividend. The world can learn much from India today.

—Reprinted from "One and All."

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
 Pacifist Universalist Service
 3.30 p.m. Sunday Oct 3rd
 Studio, 29 Addison Ave., London W.11
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 Discourse by Hanworth Walker

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SYBIL MORRISON

"WE WERE PROUD"

Nothing I heard or saw convinced me that any country was making a greater contribution to social progress than Britain, or that any people desired peace more than we do . . . We were proud to be able to say that we had armed, against our desire, not for war, but for defence . . . We have to face facts in the interests of peace, and one of the facts is that we shall not get peace through weakness. I have met the rulers of Russia and China and they didn't impress me as having any respect for weakness.

—Sam Watson, Durham Area Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers.
 September 25, 1954

WHEN I cross the border into Scotland there is something inherent in me, be it the blood of my ancestors, or because those ancestors had their roots there, that arouses a sense of excitement and happiness which has nothing to do with weather or entertainment, but entirely to do with an emotional response that cannot be analysed or explained.

To me there are no mountains in the world (and I have seen many) like the Scottish hills, no flowers like the heather that grows on their slopes, no lakes to compare with Scotland's lochs, nor rivers that run and fall so brownly and frothily to the sea.

Yet, I do not feel that this makes it necessary for me to be blindly partisan, nor do I have any desire to "defend" this beloved land with atom and hydrogen bombs. Though patriotism is defined in the dictionary as "love of country" there is, in fact, a profound difference between the deep tie of affection for one's "own country," and the patriotism that declares for "my country, right or wrong."

Sam Watson's conviction that Britain's contribution to social progress and peace is greater than any other country is understandable perhaps, on an emotional and sentimental basis, but he gives no good reasons for maintaining it against the known progress of other nations, and so far as peace is concerned merely supports the same point of view as Russia and China—a supreme scorn for military weakness!

In spite of his certainty of Britain's superiority in every respect he fails to perceive that China, Russia, USA and Britain are at any rate equal in this one matter: they all believe, apparently, that might is tantamount to right, and that weakness must be equated with wrong.

This man, who is representative of an important Trades Union, and has had the opportunity of visiting behind the "Iron Curtain," comes back simply mouthing the same old British Imperialistic nonsense that the only thing the "native" understands is a kick; in other words, the same hackneyed propaganda of the Boer War and the two world wars, that the only argument the enemy can comprehend is "a punch in the eye."

Russia and China's scorn of "weakness" is shared both by Churchill and the Party, which, no doubt, Sam Watson hopes will be returned to office at the next election; they all believe in "the punch in the eye" method for keeping the peace.

Today, owing to the discoveries of scientists,

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exist because, let us say, Adenauer, Mendes-France, Churchill, Eden, Dulles, etc. are inferior in brains, experience, or character to statesmen of earlier periods.

It is in the nature of the world-situation in the atomic age.

To read the various proposals passing back and forth between the Chancellories of the West today—Germany in EDC or NATO or the Brussels Pact, Germany armed but not dangerously armed, and so on and on—is to realize that there simply is no solution for Germany and Western Europe on a military basis.

Nor is there any solution in a policy which, directly or indirectly, is imposed on the German people from without.

What an opportunity for a call by the pacifist forces of Germany that cuts through confusions and equivocations and summons the German people to choose disarmament, the Gandhian way, unconditionally.

Let Germany take the initiative in rejecting not only the Adenauer programme but every version of rearmament.

Let the German people express the hope that their "neutrality" would be guaranteed—but nonviolently since they neither want to fight again nor be fought over by others.

But let them make clear that they will take the nonviolent way, and if need be resort to nonviolent defence, whatever other nations may do or not do.

Is it too much to hope that something like this might happen? Martin Niemöller recently announced: "After all these years and experiences, I am a pacifist—in principle." What if this became the stand of the German people?

the "punch" can be delivered by bombs of such appalling power and hideous aftermath that, if they are used, the whole world may be rendered completely uninhabitable for any who may, possibly, survive the first onslaught.

Not a great deal of reporting has been given to the Japanese fishermen who came within a few hundreds of miles of radio-active ash during the H-bomb experiments, one of whom has now died after a long and painful illness, but the terrifying truth is, that none of those fishermen has any hope of recovery.

And this is the strength of which both the Communist countries and our own are so proud; the strength to destroy violently, cruelly, with lingering agony, the whole human race. Anything other than this is spurned as "weakness."

But there is no military weakness in the world today, only military strength, with its dead end of total destruction; it is curious that anyone should feel either pride in it or respect for it.

Love of country is not a British prerogative; all over the world there are human beings with that same deeply rooted love, and where there is love there is the desire to feel respect and pride.

Britain might well be proud, and its citizens rejoice, if its Government had the moral strength to cease to justify the existence in their country of appalling arsenals of mass murder, and to show by example that peace can be achieved by the abandonment of the methods of war.

VISA GRANTED

AFTER a delay of eight months, the State Department of the USA has consented to the issue of a visa for Tom Wardle, of Peace News staff. He applied earlier this year in order to visit the USA for a lecture tour on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee. As the visa did not arrive in time, the tour had to be cancelled.

"THE LEAP IN THE DARK"

WE regret that through a misprint the author of "The Leap in the Dark" (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.) was given in last week's issue as R. H. Wood. The author is R. H. Ward, well known to readers of Peace News.

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